

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDE-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02

INR-07 IO-10 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04

PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0636

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATION: AD HOC GROUP DISCUSSION OF INCLUSION
OF GUIDANCE PARAS 6 AND 11 IN OPTION 3
PRESENTATION TO EAST

BEGIN SUMMARY:

1. AT ITS DECEMBER 13 MEETING THE AD HOC GROUP DISCUSSED
WHETHER IT WOULD BE FEASIBLE AND ADVISABLE TO INCLUDE
MATERIAL FROM PARAS 6 AND 11 OF THE NATO GUIDANCE IN
THE INITIAL WESTERN PLENARY PRESENTATION ON OPTION 3. THE
LARGE MAJORITY OF ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES TOOK THE VIEW
THAT IT WAS THE NATO COUNCIL'S INTENTION IN APPROVING THE
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GUIDANCE THAT THE EAST SHOULD HAVE AVAILABLE TO IT ALL

RELEVANT ASPECTS OF THE WESTERN NUCLEAR OFFER BEFORE MAKING AN INSTRUCTED RESPONSE EARLY IN THE NEXT NEGOTIATING ROUND. THIS MAJORITY THOUGHT THAT, IN VIEW OF THE SHORT TIME AVAILABLE AND THE IMPROBABILITY (OWING TO SOVIET RELUCTANCE TO PARTICIPATE IN INFORMAL SESSIONS FOLLOWING A PLENARY) THAT THERE WOULD BE ANY INFORMAL SESSIONS BEFORE THE RECESS, THIS AIM COULD ONLY BE ASSURED IF THE PARAS 6 AND 11 MATERIAL WERE INCLUDED IN THE INITIAL PLENARY PRESENTATION. THE NETHERLANDS AND, TO A LESSER EXTENT, CANADIAN REPS CONSIDERED, ON THE OTHER HAND, THAT THE NATO MINISTERS HAD NOT ALTERED THE GUIDANCE IN ANY WAY AT THEIR DECEMBER 11-12 MEETING AND THAT, CONSEQUENTLY, PARAS 6 AND 11 COULD ONLY BE USED IN RESPONSE TO EASTERN QUESTIONS, AS STATED IN THE GUIDANCE. AFTER A LENGTHY DEBATE ON THIS SUBJECT, WHICH CARRIED OVER TO THE DECEMBER 15 AD HOC GROUP MEETING, THE NETHERLANDS REP RELUCTANTLY AGREED TO JOIN THE CONSENSUS. AS A RESULT, THE GROUP AGREED ON INCLUDING MATERIAL FROM THESE PARAGRAPHS IN US REP'S PLENARY STATEMENT OF DECEMBER 16 ON OPTION 3. END SUMMARY.

2. IN EXPLAINING TO THE AD HOC GROUP ON DECEMBER 13 HIS POSITION ON THE NECESSITY OF USING PARAS 6 AND 11 OF THE GUIDANCE WITH THE EAST BEFORE THE RECESS, UK REP (ROSE) SAID IT WAS THE VIEW OF HIS AUTHORITIES THAT THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS SHOULD HAVE ALL THE RELEVANT INFORMATION ON THE NUCLEAR PROPOSAL BEFORE THEY START STUDYING IT WITH A VIEW, IT WAS HOPED, TO HAVING AN OFFICIAL RESPONSE READY BY EARLY IN THE NEXT ROUND. THIS CONCEPT HAD BEEN GENERALLY RECOGNIZED IN THE SPC DISCUSSIONS OF THE DRAFT GUIDANCE IN BRUSSELS AND IS IMBEDDED IN THE GUIDANCE ITSELF. THE MATERIAL WHICH FOLLOWS PARA 3 OF THE GUIDANCE, PARAS 6 AND 11 IN PARTICULAR, INSTRUCT WESTERN REPS TO RESPOND IN SPECIFIED WAYS TO EASTERN QUESTIONS ABOUT THE NUCLEAR PROPOSAL. UK REP SAID THERE DID NOT SEEM TO BE ANY DISAGREEMENT ON THIS POINT WITHIN THE AD HOC GROUP. HOWEVER, PROVISION IN THE GUIDANCE FOR THE ANSWERING OF EASTERN QUESTIONS ASSUMED THAT THERE WOULD BE

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SUFFICIENT TIME FOR INFORMAL SESSIONS IN WHICH SUCH QUESTIONS COULD BE POSED BEFORE EASTERN REPS WOULD RETURN TO THEIR CAPITALS TO BEGIN FORMAL STUDY OF THE PROPOSAL. THIS IN FACT WOULD HAVE BEEN THE CASE HAD THERE BEEN ALLIANCE AGREEMENT TO TABLE THE PROPOSAL EARLY IN JANUARY AS THE UK HAD SUGGESTED. AS THINGS HAD WORKED OUT, HOWEVER, TIMING HAD BECOME A REAL PROBLEM. BECAUSE OF THE SHORT TIME REMAINING BEFORE THE CHRISTMAS RECESS,

IT WAS ESSENTIAL THAT WESTERN REPS ASSURE THAT THE EAST
HAS THE MATERIAL IN PARAS 6 AND 11 OF THE GUIDANCE PROMPTLY.

3. ROSE SAID THE TWO QUESTIONS CONFRONTING THE GROUP
WERE WHETHER AND HOW TO PUT THE PARAS 6 AND 11
MATERIAL ACROSS TO THE EAST THIS ROUND. HE SAID
HE HAD ANSWERED THE "WHETHER" QUESTION SO THE WHOLE
MATTER BOILED DOWN TO "HOW," SINCE IT PROBABLY WOULD
NOT PROVE POSSIBLE TO HAVE AN INFORMAL AT ALL IF
THE ALLIES INSISTED ON PRESENTING THE NUCLEAR PROPOSAL
IN PLENARY ON DECEMBER 16, ROSE THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE
BEST TO INCLUDE THE PARAS 6 AND 11 MATERIAL IN THE
DECEMBER 16 PLENARY STATEMENT, EVEN THOUGH HIS
PREFERENCE WAS FOR ONE OR TWO INFORMALS FOLLOWED BY A
PLENARY DECEMBER 18 FOR THE FORMAL PRESENTATION OF THE
NUCLEAR PROPOSAL. UK REP SAID IN CONCLUSION THAT HIS
AUTHORITIES BELIEVED THAT THE POINTS
CONTAINED IN PARAS 6 AND 11 OF THE GUIDANCE MUST BE PUT
ACROSS TO THE EAST BEFORE THE RECESS AND THAT ANY PAPER
GIVEN TO THE EAST WHICH WOULD BE USED BY THEM FOR THEIR
FORMAL STUDY OF THE NUCLEAR PROPOSAL MUST INCLUDE
THESE POINTS. FOR THIS REASON, HE HAD OFFERED AN
AMENDMENT TO THE FORMAL TEXT OF THE PROPOSAL TO BE CIRCULATED
TO THE EAST WITH THE US STATEMENT AT THE DECEMBER 16 PLENARY
MEETING. THE AMENDED TEXT WOULD, IF ACCEPTED, REFLECT
THE PARAS 6 AND 11 POINTS IN A MANNER SATISFACTORY TO THE
UK AND WOULD BE AN ACCURATE STATEMENT ON THE WESTERN
POSITION ON THE NUCLEAR PROPOSAL.

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

4. IN THE ENSUING DISCUSSION NETHERLANDS REP (DE VOS) SAID IT WAS THE UNDERSTANDING OF HIS DELEGATION THAT THE MINISTERS HAD APPROVED THE GUIDANCE AS IT NOW STANDS AND WITHOUT ANY CHANGES. HE THOUGHT IT SHOULD BE FOLLOWED WITH THIS POINT IN MIND. DE VOS DID NOT LIKE THE IDEA OF ADDING MATERIAL TO THE PROPOSAL THE EAST WOULD BE GIVEN IN THE INITIAL PLENARY PRESENTATION, AS ROSE'S AMENDMENT WOULD DO, NOR DID HE THINK IT WISE TO HAND THE EAST A PAPER AFTER THE DECEMBER 18 PLENARY CONTAINING THESE POINTS, AS ROSE HAD SUGGESTED. EITHER WAY, THE ALLIES WOULD BE MAKING WHAT IS SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL LOOK LIKE AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE WESTERN OFFER, WHICH IT IS NOT DESPITE ITS
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ADMITTED IMPORTANCE.

5. ACTING ITALIAN REP (TALIANI) SAID THAT IN THE VIEW OF HIS DELEGATION THE POINTS CONTAINED IN PARAS 6 AND 11 SHOULD BE MADE THIS ROUND. THIS UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT HAD TRANSPIRED IN BRUSSELS HAD BEEN CONFIRMED THROUGH HIS NATIONAL CHANNELS. TALIANI THOUGHT IT WOULD BE THE LOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE GUIDANCE TO MAKE THE POINTS IN PARAS 6 AND 11 IN THE PLENARY PRESENTATION.

6. FRG REP (BEHREND) SAID THAT THE SITUATION WAS A CONFUSED ONE WHICH, AS HE HAD PREDICTED, THE MINISTERS FAILED TO CLEAR UP. BEHREND SAID HIS OWN INFORMATION FROM BRUSSELS BY NATIONAL CHANNELS WAS NOT CLEAR. ON BALANCE, HOWEVER, HE THOUGHT THE GROUP SHOULD USE ANYTHING CONTAINED IN THE GUIDANCE IN THE MANNER WHICH BEST SUITED NEGOTIATING NEEDS IN VIENNA.

7. BELGIAN REP (ADRIAENSSEN) SAID HIS DELEGATION WAS IN FULL SYMPATHY WITH THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY UK REP ON THE NEED TO PUT THE CONTENTS OF PARAS 6 AND 11 BEFORE THE EAST PRIOR TO THE CHRISTMAS RECESS. ADRIAENSSEN WAS NOT SURE THAT WESTERN REPS COULD BE CERTAIN TO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO PLACE THE FULL CONTENTS OF THOSE PARAS IN AN INFORMAL AND THEREFORE FAVORED INCLUDING THAT MATERIAL IN THE PLENARY STATEMENT.

8. TURKISH REP (TUREL) AGREED WITH THE MAJORITY ON THE PARAS 6 AND 12 QUESTION. THE REMAINING REPS, ASIDE FROM CANADIAN REP (GRANDE), SAID THEY WOULD GO ALONG WITH THE MAJORITY. US REP DID NOT PLAY ACTIVE ROLE IN DISCUSSION BUT, SINCE IT WAS EVIDENT THAT UK REP HAD ALL ACTIVELY PARTICIPATING MEMBERS OF THE AD HOC GROUP ON HIS SIDE, AGREED THAT, FOR THE SAKE OF ALLIED UNITY ON THE OPTION 3 PROPOSAL, THE MAJORITY VIEW SHOULD PREVAIL. CANADIAN REP SAID THAT HE TOO COULD ACCEPT THE MAJORITY VIEW, ALTHOUGH HIS OWN INTERPRETATION OF THE NATO GUIDANCE COINCIDED WITH THAT OF HIS NETHERLANDS COLLEAGUE.

9. THE DECEMBER 13 MEETING CONCLUDED WITH THE UNDERSTANDING
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THAT PARAS 6 AND 11 OF THE GUIDANCE SHOULD BE PUT ACROSS TO THE EAAST BEFORE THE RECESS, IF POSSIBLE AT AN INFORMAL SESSION. ONLY NETHERLANDS REP FULLY RESERVED HIS POSITION ON INCLUDING THE POINTS IN QUESTION IN THE PLENARY STATEMENT IF IT WERE NOT POSSIBLE TO HOLD ANY INFORMALS.

10. AT THE AD HOC GROUP DECEMBER 15 MEETING, US REP INFORMED THE GROUP THAT, ON THE BASIS OF HIS MOST RECENT DISCUSSION WITH SOVIET REP (KHLESTOV), HE THOUGHT IT VERY UNLIKELY THAT THE EAST WOULD ACCEPT AN INFORMAL BEFORE THE RECESS. THERE FOLLOWED AN ANOTHER VERY EXTENSIVE DISCUSSION ON THE QUESTION OF INCLUDING THE PARAS 6 AND 11 POINTS IN THE DECEMBER 16 WESTERN PLENARY STATEMENT AS THE ONLY WAY OF BEING CERTAIN THAT THIS MATERIAL WOULD BE AVAILABLE TO THE EAST BY THE RECESS. THE MAJORITY, USING THE SAME ARGUMENTS AS HAD BEEN EMPLOYED AT THE DECEMBER 13 AHG, HELD THAT THE PARA 6 AND 11 POINTS MUST BE INCLUDED IN THE PLENARY STATEMENT WHILE DE VOS REPEATEDLY TRIED TO ACHIEVE A COMPROMISE WHICH WOULD EXCLUDE AT LEAST SOME OF THE MATERIAL IN QUESTION. IN THE END, HOWEVER, HE AGREED TO DROP HIS POSITION IN THE INTEREST OF CONSENSUS AND RELUCTANTLY ACCEPTED TO THE INCLUSION OF THE POINTS IN QUESTION IN THE WESTERN PLENARY PRESENTATION. RESOR

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